

Appendices for “Solidarity Means Attack: A communiqué-based analysis of US anarchist action 2020-2024”

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Appendix 1: Motivations

N=497	Communiques with stated motivation(s)
None	10 (2.0%)
Motivation Stated	487 (98.0%)

N=487	Number of references
Anti-Law Enforcement: Stop Cop City	196 (40.2%)
Palestine	138 (28.3%)
Eco-General	31 (6.4%)
Anti-Law Enforcement (Excluding Stop Cop City)	30 (6.2%)
Abortion rights	23 (4.7%)
Anti-Colonialism/Imperialism	22 (4.5%)
Eco-Animal Liberation	15 (3.1%)
Anti-Capitalism	13 (2.7%)
Anti-Transphobia	12 (2.5%)
Resisting Gentrification	12 (2.5%)
Ecological: Mountain Valley Pipeline	10 (2.1%)
Unclear	10 (2.1%)
Anti-Carceral State	10 (2.1%)
June 11th	7 (1.4%)
Anti-Queerphobia	7 (1.4%)
Anti-Flock	6 (1.2%)
Anti-Homelessness	6 (1.2%)
Anti-MTA	6 (1.2%)

Anti-White Supremacy	6 (1.2%)
Other	5 (1.0%)
Land Back Initiative	4 (0.8%)
May Day	4 (0.8%)
Anti-Landlord	4 (0.8%)
Anti-Fascism	4 (0.8%)
Commemoration of Ganda	3 (0.6%)
Stop Camp Grayling	3 (0.6%)
Eviction Resistance	3 (0.6%)
Solidarity with SCI Rockwell	3 (0.6%)
Revenge for Banko Brown	3 (0.6%)
Anti-Florida Senate Bill 1718	2 (0.4%)

Appendix 2: Shoutouts

N=497	Communiques with shoutouts
None	210 (42.3%)
Shoutouts Made	287 (57.7%)

N=287	Number of shoutouts
Palestine	113 (39.4%)
Stop Cop City (includes Stop Cop Nation, Stop Cop World, etc.)	86 (30.0%)
Individual: Tortuguita	71 (24.7%)
Fuck the Police (Including Fuck the Blue, Fuck the Boys in Blue, etc.)	61 (21.2%)
Anti-capitalism	45 (15.7%)
Atlanta Forest	21 (7.1%)
Indigenous Solidarity	15 (5.2%)
Forest Defenders	14 (4.9%)
International Militants	13 (4.5%)
Religious	12 (4.2%)
Individual: Banko Brown	9 (3.1%)
Eco-Liberation	9 (3.1%)
Fuck Gentrification	7 (2.4%)
Anarchy/Anarchism (General)	7 (2.4%)
Individual: Jennifer Laude “Ganda”	7 (2.4%)
Land Back	6 (2.0%)
International: Movement	6 (2.0%)

Abolish Prisons/Fuck Prisons	6 (2.0%)
Individual: Leon Czolgosz	5 (1.7%)
Pipeline: Mountain Valley Pipeline	5 (1.7%)
Individual: Rayshard Brooks	5 (1.7%)
Fuck Hollywood Dystopia	5 (1.7%)
LGBT Community	4 (1.4%)
Death to America	4 (1.4%)
Anarchists in Atlanta	4 (1.4%)
Unhouse NYC	4 (1.4%)
Solidarity with Prisoners	4 (1.4%)
Other	4 (1.4%)
Individual: Luigi Mangione	3 (1.0%)
Individual: Michele Angiolillo	3 (1.0%)
Individual: Alfredo Bunanno	3 (1.0%)
Stop Camp Grayling	3 (1.0%)
Abortion/Jane's Revenge	3 (1.0%)
Fuck Arby's	3 (1.0%)
Individual: Klee Benally	3 (1.0%)
Individual: Alfredo Cospito	3 (1.0%)
Individual: Sekou Odinga	3 (1.0%)
Individual: Marius Mason	3 (1.0%)
Unclear	2 (0.7%)
Individual: Jason Salters	2 (0.7%)
Individual: Franz Fanon	2 (0.7%)
Anti-Fascism	2 (0.7%)

Communism	2 (0.7%)
All those lost this year	1 (0.3%)

Appendix 3: Direct Actions Reported by State

N=497	Direct actions by state
Pennsylvania	78 (15.7%)
California	72 (14.5%)
Oregon	60 (12.1%)
New York	59 (11.9%)
Georgia	54 (10.9%)
Michigan	33 (6.6%)
Minnesota	18 (3.6%)
Massachusetts	17 (3.4%)
Illinois	15 (3.0%)
Washington	15 (3.0%)
Unknown	15 (3.0%)
North Carolina	11 (2.2%)
New Jersey	10 (2.0%)
Florida	7 (1.4%)
Indiana	5 (1.0%)
Colorado	5 (1.0%)
Wisconsin	5 (1.0%)
Ohio	3 (0.6%)
Virginia	3 (0.6%)
Vermont	2 (0.4%)
South Carolina	2 (0.4%)
Louisiana	2 (0.4%)
Arizona	2 (0.4%)

Kansas	1 (0.2%)
Nebraska	1 (0.2%)
Texas	1 (0.2%)
Iowa	1 (0.2%)

Appendix 4: Direct Actions Reported by City

N = 497	Reported direct actions by city
Philadelphia	59 (11.9%)
Portland	46 (9.3%)
New York	46 (9.3%)
Atlanta	44 (8.9%)
Unclear (i.e., County Name, Region, etc.)	40 (8.0%)
Unknown	18 (3.6%)
San Francisco	17 (3.4%)
Chicago	14 (2.8%)
Minneapolis	12 (2.4%)
Berkeley	11 (2.2%)
Oakland	10 (2.0%)
Pittsburgh	10 (2.0%)
Olympia	8 (1.6%)
Brooklyn	8 (1.6%)
Numerous Cities (e.g., Detroit and Ann Arbor)	7 (1.4%)
Milwaukee	6 (1.2%)
Asheville	6 (1.2%)
Boston	5 (1.0%)
Ann Arbor	5 (1.0%)
Bloomington	3 (0.6%)
Daly City	3 (0.6%)
Novi	3 (0.6%)
Traverse City	3 (0.6%)

Cambridge	3 (0.6%)
Weston	3 (0.6%)
Ypsilanti	3 (0.6%)
Eugene	3 (0.6%)
Los Angeles	2 (0.4%)
Flowery Branch	2 (0.4%)
Highland	2 (0.4%)
Durham	2 (0.4%)
Detroit	2 (0.4%)
Lynchburg	2 (0.4%)
Worcester	2 (0.4%)
Denver	2 (0.4%)
Fridley	2 (0.4%)
New Orleans	2 (0.4%)
Independence	2 (0.4%)
Seattle	2 (0.4%)
Sunbury	2 (0.4%)
San Carlos	2 (0.4%)
Canton	2 (0.4%)
Tucson	2 (0.4%)
Humboldt	2 (0.4%)
Richmond	2 (0.4%)
Braintree	1 (0.2%)
Lowell	1 (0.2%)
Cincinnati	1 (0.2%)

Roseville	1 (0.2%)
Center City	1 (0.2%)
Albany	1 (0.2%)
Madison	1 (0.2%)
Fort Collins	1 (0.2%)
Dawsonville	1 (0.2%)
Erie	1 (0.2%)
Columbus	1 (0.2%)
Tallahassee	1 (0.2%)
Kansas City	1 (0.2%)
Glendale	1 (0.2%)
Burlington	1 (0.2%)
Everett	1 (0.2%)
Southfield	1 (0.2%)
Springfield	1 (0.2%)
Gresham Park	1 (0.2%)
Omaha	1 (0.2%)
East Hampton	1 (0.2%)
Vancouver	1 (0.2%)
Paramus	1 (0.2%)
Austin	1 (0.2%)
Weelaunee	1 (0.2%)
Wayland	1 (0.2%)
Mequon	1 (0.2%)
Manhattan	1 (0.2%)

Coral Gables	1 (0.2%)
Miami	1 (0.2%)
Boulder	1 (0.2%)
Augusta	1 (0.2%)
Columbia	1 (0.2%)
Belmont	1 (0.2%)
Windsor	1 (0.2%)
Sunrise	1 (0.2%)
Williston	1 (0.2%)
Quincy	1 (0.2%)
Arlington	1 (0.2%)
Teels Creek	1 (0.2%)
Tacoma	1 (0.2%)
Clarkville	1 (0.2%)
Hilton Head	1 (0.2%)
Upper Darby	1 (0.2%)
Tigard	1 (0.2%)
Raleigh	1 (0.2%)
Ingleside	1 (0.2%)
Rome	1 (0.2%)
Kalamazoo	1 (0.2%)
Glen Rock	1 (0.2%)
Santa Cruz	1 (0.2%)
Lacey	1 (0.2%)
Aspen	1 (0.2%)

Princeton	1 (0.2%)
Davis	1 (0.2%)
San Leandro	1 (0.2%)
Luzerene	1 (0.2%)
Romulus	1 (0.2%)
Archbald	1 (0.2%)
Savannah	1 (0.2%)
Queens	1 (0.2%)
Evergreen	1 (0.2%)
Richmond	1 (0.2%)
Emeryville	1 (0.2%)

Appendix 5: Is the Communique Posted Elsewhere?

N=497	Is the communique posted elsewhere?
No	369 (74%)
Yes, another site that is not a NoBlogs site (e.g., IndyMedia)	100 (20%)
Yes, on another NoBlogs site	28 (5.6%)

Appendix 6: Target Sub-Category

N=497	Target sub-category
Private: Company/Company property	77 (15.5%)
Private: financial institution	53 (10.7%)
Private: Construction	35 (7%)
Public: Law enforcement	35 (7%)
Unclear	25 (5%)
Private: home	19 (3.8%)
Public: Education	17 (3.4%)
Infrastructure: Surveillance	15 (3%)
Private: Vehicle	14 (2.8%)
Infrastructure: Rail (excluding subway)	13 (2.6%)
Public: Military	12 (2.4%)
Public: Statue or monument	10 (2%)
Private: Crisis pregnancy center	10 (2%)
Private: Retail	10 (2%)
Private: Farm	9 (1.8%)
Infrastructure: Car traffic	8 (1.6%)
Private: Restaurant	8 (1.6%)
Unclear: Machinery	7 (1.4%)
Private: Military contractor	7 (1.4%)
Infrastructure: Subway	7 (1.4%)
Private: Healthcare/insurance	6 (1.2%)
Private: Hotel	6 (1.2%)
Private: Education	5 (1%)

Public: Diplomatic/government building	5 (1%)
Public: Neighborhood	4 (0.8%)
Public: Vehicle	4 (0.8%)
Private: Policy lobby or policy office	4 (0.8%)
Infrastructure: Pedestrian bridge, sidewalk, roadway used by people	4 (0.8%)
Private: Museum	4 (0.8%)
Private: Billboard/large advertisement	3 (0.6%)
Private: NGO/think tank	3 (0.6%)
Private: Vehicle and Private Home	3 (0.6%)
Infrastructure: Utilities	2 (0.4%)
Infrastructure: Parking meter	2 (0.4%)
Private: Religious institution	2 (0.4%)
Public: Park	2 (0.4%)
Private: Golf course	2 (0.4%)
Infrastructure: Pipeline	2 (0.4%)
Public: Military and Private: Financial institution and Private: Restaurant and Unclear: Vehicle	2 (0.4%)
Public: Judicial	2 (0.4%)
<i>All other categories and category combinations occur only once.</i>	

Appendix 7: Group Responsible

N=497	Is a group name used to sign the communique?
No group name listed (i.e., unsigned or anonymous)	351 (70.6%)
"some anarchists"	35 (7%)
"Jane's Revenge"	14 (2.8%)
"(A)"	6 (1.2%)
"Anti-Colonial Action Brigade"	5 (1%)
"March 5th Movement" (M5M)	5 (1%)
"Your friends up north"	2 (0.4%)
"Transit Liberation Front"	2 (0.4%)
"TPM"	2 (0.4%)
"Tortuguita Revenge Gang"	2 (0.4%)
"Some Forest Creatures"	2 (0.4%)
"Sacred black and red"	2 (0.4%)
"NYC anarchists"	2 (0.4%)
"BRB/Be Right Back"	2 (0.4%)
"Anonymous Drivers of the Nomadic War Machine"	2 (0.4%)
"Animal Liberation Front"	2 (0.4%)
"anarchists"	2 (0.4%)
<i>All other group names are used only once, and are listed below:</i>	
"ᠠᠨᠠᠷᠠᠭᠤᠨ", "your secret admirer", "xoxo", "Transaction Denied ????", "Tort's Revenge", "The Wolvez", "The Sticky Vandals", "the resistance axis", "The Peasant Mob of Ypsilanti", "The Joint Task Force to Avenge Tortuguita", "The Beaver Gang", "The antifascist contingent of the Philadelphia Mural Arts Program", "Tallanasty", "SRC", "Spikey Boiiiiiiiis", "some wild young anarchists in So-called Portland", "SOME SEXXII FOREST FAIRIES", "some other anarchists", "some mischievous trannies", "some local goblins", "some kid", "some baby killers", "some anti-zionist jews", "some anarchist", "shapeshifters", "Savannah", "Rosebud Brigade", "Railroad	

Workers Union Local 1312", "Rachel Corrie's Ghost Brigade", "portland troublemakers", "Pissed off locals", "Palestine Action NYC", "NYU students, faculty, and staff", "NYC Revolutionary Youth/NYRY", "Neighbors & Enjoyers of the Forest in South Atlanta", "Murderapolis", "Minneapolis", "Insurrectionary Feminist Exterior Decoration Committee", "Humboldt Poop Troop", "Green Mountain Sacred Delinquents", "ghosts", "Gay Furry Hackers", "Forest bunnies", "Eleventh Hour", "DTF party planning committee", "comrades in Nebraska", "Camp Deadnettle", "Camp Copperhead", "Bristling Badger Brigade", "BRB//Bay Ridge Brigade//Be Right Back", "Bingo Baller", "Bay Ridge Brigade", "Anti Hope Brigade", "Another Gay Anarchists", "Angry Ghosts", "an autonomous extra-curriculars committee at bb!23", "an anarchist", "a mischievous creature of the night", "A feral band of saboteurs".

Appendix 8: Tactics

N=497	Communiqués reporting this tactic
Vandalism: Paint	204 (41.0%)
Sabotage/Vandalism: Smashed Windows	125 (25.2%)
Arson	63 (12.7%)
Sabotage/Vandalism: Slashed Tires, Caltrops	32 (6.4%)
Agitprop: Banner Drop, Flag Raise	29 (5.8%)
Sabotage: Disabled Machinery (including vehicles)	28 (5.6%)
Theft or Removal	28 (5.6%)
Sabotage: Disabled ATM	26 (5.2%)
Agitprop: Flyerin/Wheatpasting	22 (4.4%)
Sabotage: Disabled Infrastructure	22 (4.4%)
Sabotage: Disabled Locks	16 (3.2%)
Sabotage: Disabled Cameras (public)	15 (3.0%)
Sabotage: Locking Doors	12 (2.4%)
Sabotage: Utilities	12 (2.4%)
Vandalism: Unspecified Means	10 (2.0%)
Sabotage: Blockade	10 (2.0%)
Sabotage: Disabled Cameras (private)	9 (1.8%)
Vandalism: Egging, Toiletpapering, Throwing Rotten Food, Leaving Items Behind, etc.	9 (1.8%)
Other	9 (1.8%)
Vandalism: Stickers	7 (1.4%)
Causing public disturbance/disruption	6 (1.2%)

Sabotage: Spiked Tree	5 (1.0%)
Unclear	5 (1.0%)
Vandalism: General Destruction	4 (0.8%)
Other: Released Animals, Bugs, etc.	3 (0.6%)
Sabotage: Cyberattack	3 (0.6%)
Sabotage/Vandalism: Damaged Merchandise	2 (0.4%)

Appendix 9: Time to Report Direct Action

N = 497	Known date of direct action and reporting via communiqué
Yes	269 (54.1)
No	228 (45.9%)

Appendix 10: Time to Report

N = 269	Time to report
0	20 (7.4%)
1 Day	49 (18.2%)
2 Days	41 (15.2%)
3 Days	23 (8.6%)
4 Days	18 (6.7%)
5 Days	20 (7.4%)
6 Days	17 (6.3%)
7 Days	5 (1.9%)
8 Days	9 (3.3%)
9 Days	7 (2.6%)
10 Days	5 (1.9%)
11 Days	5 (1.9%)
12 Days	7 (2.6%)
13 Days	5 (1.9%)
14 Days	7 (2.6%)
17 Days	4 (1.5%)
18 Days	2 (0.7%)
19 Days	2 (0.7%)
20 Days	2 (0.7%)
21 Days	2 (0.7%)
22 Days	2 (0.7%)
23 Days	1 (0.4%)
24 Days	1 (0.4%)

25 Days	1 (0.4%)
27 Days	2 (0.4%)
29 Days	1 (0.4%)
32 Days	1 (0.4%)
33 Days	1 (0.4%)
50 Days	1 (0.4%)
53 Days	1 (0.4%)
60 Days	1 (0.4%)
69 Days	1 (0.4%)
70 Days	1 (0.4%)
78 Days	1 (0.4%)
88 Days	1 (0.4%)
183 Days	1 (0.4%)
250 Days	1 (0.4%)